2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

But the soul is believed to linger after death, and the methods used to encourage its departure are strictly aboriginal. A young couple's marriage may not be consummated until solemnized by the visiting padre, but the admonitions of the village chief to both bride and groom reinforce the authority of native jurisdiction. The annual Easter whipping of the whole community is also native.

Barrett could find no clear-cut creation story. The universe is believed to be made up of three superimposed worlds, with human life centered on the middle one. Men share this middle world with many spirits, some malevolent and other benevolent, all of whom are busy affecting human happiness and goals.

Sometimes the spirits must be exorcised, as when they cause illness. For this a shaman is called, and, with the cooperation of neighbors, he drives out the spirits amid much singing, smoking, and sprinkling. The shaman also may suck out the cause of illness.

Almost anyone can become a shaman by undergoing intensive training and acquiring a set of spirit helpers. There seems to be no "predestination" for this career, though Barrett was apparently unable to get enough information on this point. Like the chief, the shaman is not a full-time professional.

Because of his magic control of spirit powers, the shaman can be a force for evil as well as for good. It is he who causes illness and eventually death. There is a great deal of similarity between the behavior and the paraphernalia of the *Cayapa* shaman and that of the Highland medicine man.

THE COLORADO

The *Colorado*, or, as they prefer to call themselves, *Tsatchela* or *Tatchila* Indians, share with the *Cayapa* the distinction of being the last surviving aboriginal group in the Lowlands of western Ecuador. The two groups know about each other and even occasionally visit back and forth; but they speak mutually unintelligible languages, and their ways of life are quite distinct.

In contrast to the *Cayapa*, the *Colorado* are rapidly disappearing. Their territory and their numbers have been shrinking constantly, and one can easily foresee the time when the group will become extinct. They have not been able to withdraw before the pressure of "civilization," and they have been incorporated to a large degree into the Highland plantation system known as concertaje. The area they occupy on the upper reaches of several affluents of the Esmeraldas and Daule Rivers in the western part of Pichincha Province has been an area of heavy colonization in recent decades. During World War II an all-weather road was opened which increased the area's accessibility to colonization from the Highlands.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

622 624 village. The successor of an official is definitely known long before the death of the latter, but an official vacancy is not actually filled until the coming of the priest. Then, in the presence of all the other officials and anyone else who may wish to be present, the priest delivers an address in which he names the new official, announces his duties and privileges, commends him to the respect of the people, and charges him with the duties and responsibilities which he is about to assume. On the death of the chief, for instance, his duties are relegated to some other official, usually one of the "alcaldes," until such time as the priest shall arrive and inaugurate a successor.

465 622 681 None of these officials are supposed to receive compensation other than the honor and respect in which they are held. The chief, however, usually levies fines upon offenders, of which he takes personal possession and could, if he so desired, use a portion of them for his private needs, since no special account of such matters is kept by anyone. As a matter of fact such a thing rarely or never happens; on the contrary the chief uses the fines for paying the services of officers of the law whom he may send on missions of various kinds, such as bringing culprits to justice, settling disputes among his people, and the like. [756 776 789] A portion of the money he uses also for the payment of shamans whom he employs now and then to expel dangerous spirits from his village, from deep pools in the river, or from other places where these mysterious beings are supposed to endanger the lives of the people at large. [436] At the present time, when coins of Ecuador and Colombia are comparatively easy to obtain, fines are paid in money, but in earlier times they were always paid in commodities.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 ~~Cayapa~~ SD6

the skin the stone or other object which, by traveling through the body, together with the spirit which resides in it, causes the illness. 755

Shamans or doctors form, to a certain extent at least, a special class by themselves, but, so far as could be ascertained, they have no secret or special organization. They are not, on the other hand, "predestined" or specially selected by natural temperament. Any one may become a shaman if he so wishes by simply training under the guidance and instruction of one or more old shamans of recognized ability. For this training he pays a stipulated sum, and is instructed every night until he has learned thoroughly the songs and incantations and the various rituals of his instructor, and also has become more or less familiar with the special spirits which his instructor invokes. He does not, however, rely solely on the spirits of his instructor, but sooner or later acquires others of his own. Likewise, he may devise new songs and incantations. 756● [465]

Not only has the shaman to cure by expelling the spirits from the body of a patient, but he has the more important function of expelling spirits from a locality or from a particular house infested with those which cause illness. This expulsion of spirits from a locality or a house is usually accomplished by several persons under the direction of a head shaman. A decoction of rum and bejuco is almost always used by the shaman himself in this exorcism; the other participants are provided with a kind of decoction made by soaking a species of native mint in water. A large number of cigars are also provided, and it is the blowing of the tobacco smoke, 789

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

quently it has the form of a dwarf or even of a normal human being, especially if its abode is an inanimate object. These spirits may leave their abodes and travel at will, or they may take their abodes wish them. They have great magic powers, both for good and for evil.

In addition to the benevolent offices of the shaman, he may exercise a malevolent function by calling spirits to his assistance for the purpose of killing or otherwise doing harm to his enemies. The spirits which he uses for this evil purpose may be those which he uses for good in other cases—they may aid him in killing an enemy at one time and in curing a friend at another.

The abodes of spirits are numberless. They may live within almost any smooth water-worn stone, especially a black or a red one; they are always resident in prehistoric potsherds, especially those of human or animal form; and abide also in almost any object of stone or other hard material of unusual form, particularly if it is smooth. Many mountains and hills contain spirits, both within them and on their slopes and summits. Also nearly every mammal, bird, reptile, and insect is the abode of a spirit entirely distinct from its soul or shade. It is these many spirits residing in both animate and inanimate objects that are the media by which shamans work their magic for both good and evil. A spirit is sometimes called forth from its abode to serve the shaman while thus separated from the object in which it dwells; but it may equally well serve him while in its abode, in which event the object in which the spirit abides accompanies it on its mission.

Furthermore, treatment by magic is almost the only

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

752 maintain that a shaman never attempts to cure the
755 wound itself. A case of this kind observed in 1909 was that of a young man who had been accidentally shot at close range. There were seven buckshot holes through the calf of the leg, and each formed an ugly gangrenous wound. When first seen seven days had elapsed since he had received the wounds, but no treatment, magic or otherwise, had been given other than the bathing and bandaging above mentioned.

756 A shaman's paraphernalia consists almost invariably
778 of three classes of objects. First, one or more small lance-shape wands of black wood, each possessing special magic power from the spirit or spirits residing therein; second, a bottle of a decoction of rum and bejuco; third, a number of smooth black stones, potsherds, and similar objects of unusual forms. Especially valued are the ancient stone axes, either whole or fragmentary, which are found now and then about old village-sites and mounds or along the banks of streams. These objects, as before stated, are all supposed to be inhabited by spirits. One may be the abode of only a single spirit, while another may contain as many as ten or a dozen. One stone ax, for example, in possession of a shaman near Punta Venado, was said to contain five spirits. When an attempt was made to purchase this ax from him, he was greatly in doubt whether it would be wise and proper for him to part with it. To settle the matter he sprayed the stone with the decoction of bejuco and rum, and sang and whistled to it for a considerable time, meanwhile gazing at it intently. At last he pointed out the exact positions

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

of the five spirits which the stone harbored, and explained how each was angry at him because he had even thought of disposing of the stone. He of course refused to sell it, stating that it would be of no use to the purchaser for the reason that if the spirits were not willing that it be sold they would return, together with the stone, on the following night, to the basket in which he kept it, and that the purchaser would lose the price paid for it, since it would be impossible for him ever to keep the stone, no matter in how strong a receptacle it might be put, because the spirits were able to take it at will wherever they liked. 756 778

While these stones and other objects used by shamans in their practices are so highly prized and so carefully handled by them, little care is taken to guard such objects from contact with other persons. Ordinarily they are kept in an open basket upon the floor and within the reach of uninitiated adults as well as of children. There seems to be no fear that the mere handling of these objects will cause any ill effect on the uninitiated—it is only when such a person attempts to use one of them for the purpose of doctoring that there is danger. 756

As above indicated, objects containing spirits may be bartered among the shamans whenever the spirits themselves are willing, and they are sometimes sold without consulting the spirits; but if it is a particularly valuable object and the abode of several spirits, these are always consulted before it is disposed of. 756 778 437

Although there are several shamans in the three divisions of the Cayapa, shamanism is comparatively little practised, and the position of a shaman in the tribe 756

S. Barrett E-5 (1900-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6
Cholo

756 is not a very important one, The Cholo of the southern part of Colombia, on the other hand, are noted, at least among the Cayapa, for their knowledge of magic. In fact there are no fewer than five or six Cholo shamans who live constantly on the Rio Cayapas, and it is to these that the Cayapa often apply when in need of shamanistic services. The negroes of the region also have their shamans, who are often summoned by the Cayapa, particularly for the purpose of treating the sick. For the expulsion of spirits from a locality or from a house, however, the Cayapa rely almost entirely on either their own shamans or those of the Cholo.

RELIGION

The Universe

772 There is a gigantic being, called Tyapatcī tena′tū, who supports the lower world upon the palm of his hand. Upon the lower world, called ta′ñca, which means literally "within," is mounted a great pillar of gold and silver that holds up the middle world upon which we live. Upon this middle world there rests another pillar of gold and silver which supports the upper world, called ka′ica, above which there is nothing. The lower world is inhabited by the pehūrū pu′tyū; the middle world is inhabited by human beings and the various spirits, and the upper world is the abode of a still different people, ideas concerning which are not very clear.

In the lower world conditions are in every way the reverse of those in this world. There, for instance, the

3. Barrett E 5 (1908 1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

enough to take a good look at the red object, or even to touch it, either of which proved fatal. At last, however, some powerful shamans visited the pool and by their incantations were able to impound the fish in a cave in the bed-rock at its bottom. They then sealed the mouth of the cave, it is said by some, with iron, so that for some years the pool has been passed without harm. However, there is still fear that the fish may some day break their bonds and again come to the surface and menace the lives of canoemen.

pī pī'nī

While there are many large pools along the Rio Cayapas which are given the general Spanish name charco, there is one so large and important that it is always known as El Charco. This is situated at a point about three miles down-stream from the confluence with the Rio Onzole. It was the former habitation of a kind of dangerous fish, or serpent, called pī pī'nī, literally "water serpent," concerning which the following story is told:

In former times El Charco was much larger than at present, covering the plain now adjacent to it and reaching from hill to hill on each side. Here lived an especially large pī pī'nī, which devoured everything coming down the river. It had a mouth twenty fathoms wide, and everything, including all driftwood and even entire trees that floated down-stream, was consumed by the monster. Within this great serpent there was an immense dry area in which accumulated all the logs and trees that

the coffinmakers a gift of two or three liters of rum which is consumed on the spot. If the deceased is a woman, her husband goes through her belongings and sets aside items that are especially attractive and/or expensive, and these are later auctioned off at the funeral. The money received in this manner is used to pay for special masses for the dead. Finally when all is in readiness, the body is placed in the coffin. The funeral is held at a house that is on the main river to facilitate the final removal of the body to the ceremonial center for burial. The coffin is placed in a canoe which is piloted by a close male relative: father, husband, brother, etcetera. The pilot sets out alone with the corpse for the funeral site.

764
[461]
[465]
[273]
[768]
[769]

One day I received word that the wife of Aurelio Añapa had just died from the bite of a venomous snake. She had been attended by a brujo for a period of four days to no avail. The following morning at about two o'clock, we heard faintly the mourning chant of the Cayapa. Slowly the sound came closer, and far up the river a light was moving steadily. Finally, after what appeared to us to be an interminably long time, Aurelio

123
764
[756]
[763]

came close to our house. He cried out, wailing in the Cayapa manner, "Here is the house of Don Miltón where we used to go together; it gives me pain to think that we will no longer go there, ay . . ." At this he passed by our house, and we could hear him call out landmarks that were familiar to him and to his wife--landmarks that they would no longer see together. Finally he moved out of sight and out of hearing. We were quite disturbed over this, not only because she was a friend, but also because we had an ample supply of antivenom and had not been notified of the snakebite when we might have helped her. People were saying that Aurelio did not hire effective <u>brujos</u>. They said that the ones he hired were known to be ignorant of snakebite curing. Aurelio had been married for about ten years and had no children. His wife gave birth once prematurely, and the child died; ever since this, unfortunately, she had been sterile. This was a great sadness to them, for they wanted children very much. When I asked others why Aurelio had never adopted children, the answer always was, "He wants his own blood."

Funerals tend to begin late in the afternoon,

000
752
759

of witchcraft. Barrett records that very little attention is given to wounds per se beyond the application of hot beeswax or a leaf to keep off the insects; however, a few individuals have specialized in the setting of broken bones. Apparently, this specialty is not taught, but a person who wants to engage in this activity practices by removing the corn kernels from a dry ear of corn and then replaces them in their sockets under cover of the husks. This is said to develop finger dexterity and the sense of touch. With growing competence the neophyte bonesetter practices mending the limbs of domestic animals, and eventually, the first human patient requests his services. Clean fractures seem to be rather easily handled, and it is said that "green-twig" fractures are similarly mended. The price for this service is high, ranging from 500 sucres to over 1,000 sucres.

[232]

For illnesses caused by spirit possession or spirit loss, a brujo or witch is needed. There are no special requirements for becoming a brujo beyond the desire and money to pay for instruction. As the prophet is seldom honored in his own country, so the Cayapa

756
[554]
[755]
[186]

maintain that the best witches are not Cayapa at all but rather the Cholo of Colombia and the Colorado of Ecuador. Next in order of preference are the highland Indians around Ibarra, and, finally, those Cayapa who have been instructed from the masters listed in descending order of preference. Those Cayapa who have been instructed by other Cayapa enjoy very little esteem. There is said to be a good deal of jealousy between witches, and in popular belief they are said to seek opportunities to kill off their rivals.

The Cayapa theory of spirit possession is that if one is wandering in the monte, a spirit may spy one and fall in love with one. The spirit then embraces the victim and enters his body. Spirits or inimical objects may be implanted in the body by witchcraft as well. When someone falls ill and lingers in illness for a time, the charge is made that an enemy is at work. The task of the brujo is simply to rid the body of the object or spirit that is causing the illness.

The witches' paraphernalia consists of archaeological artifacts that were made by the people resident in the area prior to the Cayapa occupation. A

spirit is said to reside in each piece. Black stone axes are especially potent, as are pieces of crystal that have been purchased in town. Tobacco is part of every curing; the smoke wafts the illness away from the body. A considerable amount of alcohol is used as well. The witch takes a mouthful of /iškala/, 'rum,' and sprays it out of his mouth with a loud "whoosh" at the patient's back; a considerable amount of rum fails to compress as spray, and the witch finishes the curing in an advanced state of inebriation! In general, the manner of effecting a cure is as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:344-352). However, I participated in one that differed considerably. I was told one day that a curing session was in progress at a point not too distant from my house. When I arrived, the cure had apparently been going on for some time. A middle-aged man lay on a reed mat that had been placed on the ground. Alejandro of Encanto sat off to one side leaning back against two parallel sticks that had been thrust into the ground to serve as a backrest. From time to time he alternately whistled short stretches of staccato sounds, that had a decided "blues" quality,

755
756
[172]
[270]
[273]
755
123
[352]
[533]
[191]

patient, who appeared to be wracked by malaria, declared that my power had helped him considerably. This comment was accepted with perfect equanimity by the two brujos who nodded and agreed that I did have big hands.

There appears to be no conflict between the Cayapa theory of disease and modern medical practices. On several occasions, Kalía, an active brujo, would come to me for medications to give his patients. The feeling was that the White man's medicine taken together with the native remedy could not be beaten; however, quite commonly, western medication is sought only as a last resort.

Almost everyone has a modicum of curing knowledge, but one would never dare to utter incantations that summon spirits, unless he has paid a teacher for knowledge. An unauthorized person who called the spirits would be killed by them. Most people will at one time or another attempt to effect a cure. A brief illustration of some of these points can be seen in the following events recorded during the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado in 1959:

123
755

755
757
177
[123]

755
756

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado]

It was one thirty in the afternoon on Friday, when a very sick child was brought to the /únʸi/ to be cured. Gabriel, was quite drunk, but he took the child and blew on the top of its head. He then passed the child to a Negress, who did the same thing, and then tossed the child up into the air. The /únʸi/ then took the child and blew on its head again. The parents of the child stood by crying, as it was obvious that the child was in mortal danger. Some other Indians began taking turns blowing at the child's head, and one began to suck out at the nostrils, while another massaged the child's hands. The Negress suggested using some chocolate, but this advice was ignored. I offered some sulfa pills, but the father refused them. The /kapitán/ then began rubbing a commercial menthol ointment around the child's face, neck and chest. While he was doing this, the /únʸi/ slumped down in a corner of the room and passed out drunk. The Negress kept urging the /kapitán/ to rub some of the ointment on the child's back, and he did so. Then the mother took the child, and offered it the breast, which was refused.

The child was gasping very hard. At this point, the father took off his western styled shirt, and put on a yellow Cayapa shirt. As he was doing this a young man took hold of the child's right wrist, and began blowing on the fingers, while another began to briefly blow on the child's head.

Eventually, the number of people working on the child dwindled to three men, including the /kapitán/, who are said to be brujos . . . they removed the child to an abandoned house site, and they sat on a log discussing what to do. Each brujo, as he drank from a bottle of rum, stated that he would use a very important and strong incantation; and then with a long look at the others, added, "and I am not afraid either." One began to whistle and chant, and another began sucking at the child's mouth, while the third kept complaining that I was too

755
756
[197]
[123]
[197]
[291]
[179]
[125]

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

755
756
[123]

> ugly to bear, and that I must leave before he began his cure, but the other two assured him that I was a "good gringo." By this point, the three brujos were quite drunk, and unable to function. The father took the child back to the main house, where it died early the following morning.

754
756
68

It is felt that brujos can kill as well as cure, but except for one instance, excessive sorcery was never attributed to Cayapa brujos. The father of Perdomo of Encanto was a brujo who was killed because "he killed too many people." This was the only instance recorded and it was apparently done on an individual basis and not through the legal apparatus.

Government. The Spanish governmental nomenclature can be found with varying degrees of completeness in each of the four tribal sections. The list as noted by Barrett included the following: "Governador, secretario de la governación, teniente político, alcalde, comisário, capitán, sargento." (Barrett 1925:312). In 1960, the terms alcalde, comisário, and teniente político were apparently no longer in use, and no one knew of any individual who occupied any of these offices.

Today, as in 1909, there are apparently three